

Notes and Queries

WANTED by the Friends' Historical Society, the following F.H.S. publications which are now out of stock.

Journal, Vol. 37, 1940.

Supplement 18, *Psychical Experiences of Quaker Ministers*, by John William Graham.

Supplement 19, *The London (Quaker) Lead Company 1692-1905*, by Arthur Raistrick.

Can anyone offer any of these to fill up the F.H.S. files in one or two libraries? If so please send to the Secretary, Friends' Historical Society, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

GEORGE FOX, LEICESTERSHIRE COUNTRYMAN

The influence on George Fox of his Leicestershire upbringing, and through him on the development of the Society of Friends, does not seem to have been studied in any detail, and my recent reading of books about the county has suggested some points which may have interest.

How far did Leicestershire character influence George Fox to make his insistence on the plain language? Francis Petty, writing of Leicestershire in 1703, declared: "I have not found one fool in this country. They answer all concisely—Yes—No—Can't Tell—Indifferent."

Conditions in Leicester recorded in 1640 bring to mind many of the traits for which George Fox was known and which he encouraged in Friends—dwelling in brotherly love, care for the poor, honesty, cleanliness. John Taylor "the Water-poet" wrote,

"I noted the peace, tranquillity and unity which the people live in. . . They are so charitable and careful in providing for the relief of the poor and needy, that a man must go seek where to bestow his alms. . . . The people generally are so loving one to another that the lawyers want work, and so honest that the apparitors are idle. . . . The streets are so well paved and kept so clean from dung-hills, filth or soil, that in the hottest and foulest weather, a man may go all over the town in a pair of slippers and never wet his feet." [Quoted from Firth, J. B., *Highways and Byways in Leicestershire*, 1926, p. 5.] (If the villages were as well-kept as the county town, George Fox must have suffered all the more during his imprisonments in filthy jails.)—BEATRICE SAXON SNELL, 23 St. Anne's Road, Caversham, Reading.

"WOE TO THE BLOODY CITY OF LICHFIELD"

"So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!' It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it . . . as I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood." (George Fox. *Journal*, under 1651; Bicent. ed., i, 78.)

The reason why George Fox's vision at Lichfield took the form

it did has never been explained. Can it be that his mind was influenced by a subconscious memory of Garendon Pool waters turning blood red? This pool (about 2 miles West of Loughborough and 20 miles North of Fenny Drayton) would be well known to Leicestershire folk, how it turned blood red and cattle refused to drink from it, for the occurrence achieved some celebrity and is recorded in a pamphlet of 1645, on the basis of which there is a full account in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire* (iii, 800-1), and in *Highways and Byways in Leicestershire*, 96-98. The pool was seen by one Master Neale of Greate Leake in Nottinghamshire "just at that time when the water did begin to return to its first complexion, and perceiving the red substance in the nature of a filmy body to return to the bottom, he did put spurs to his horse, who did fling back and snorted, and was unwilling to go into the pond; but after he had forced him to enter a little way into it, and stirred towards the bottom of the water with his cane, he perceived clots, as it were, of congealed blood in great abundance to rise up, and having stayed upon the top of the water for a little space, to descend afterwards by degrees again." The country people drained the pond, but found nothing, and no physical explanation has come to my notice.—BEATRICE SAXON SNELL, 23 St. Anne's Road, Caversham, Reading.

GEORGE FOX AND "LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE"

"Even George Fox had admitted 'that he never lik'd the Word Liberty of Conscience, and

would have no liberty given to Presbyterians, Papists, Independents and Baptists.' " This quotation from a recent biography of *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury* (by Edward Frederick Carpenter. S.P.C.K., 1948) ran so counter to the usually accepted picture of George Fox that it appeared worth pursuing. With the author's aid the basis for the statement was found on page 18 of Tenison's *An Argument for Union*. This work was published anonymously in 1683 and instanced many examples from Commonwealth times to show the impossibility of the sectaries agreeing among themselves. Comment on Quakers included a paragraph based on William Mucklow's *Spirit of the Hat* (1673), an adverse pamphlet in a controversy concerning Friends' practice of raising the hat during vocal prayer in meeting. William Mucklow wrote (p. 41), "George Fox was heard to say in a selected great Assembly thus, *Though many Friends have writ for Liberty of Conscience, I never lik'd the word, it is not a good word, No Liberty to the Presbyterians, no Liberty to the Papists, no Liberty to the Independents, no Liberty to the Baptists, &c.* Liberty is to be only in the Truth, and saith he, no Liberty out of the Power." In this last sentence, which Tenison ignored, appears the clue to the meaning of the whole passage. This is made abundantly clear by the answer William Penn made in *The Spirit of Alexander the Copper-Smith* (1673). He denied that George Fox was concerning himself with outward exercise of conscience in freedom of worship—"for, Conscience being an Inward and Spiritual Thing, no

mortal Man could bind or inthrale it." He asserted that George Fox was right to say there was no liberty of conscience "out of the Power; that is, The Power of God. Nor in reallity is there: For all Consciences that are defiled or enslaved by Wicked Works, they are not truly free; the Power of God has not delivered such into the Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God." Such people (including the Presbyterians and the rest, and presumably the Hat men when they persisted in spreading confusion among Friends) could not be free in their consciences. William Penn concludes: "In short, He [George Fox] spoke, and meant it of an Inward Liberty of Conscience from Sin, which is call'd in Scripture, Purging the Conscience from Dead Works, and If the Truth make you Free, &c. and this Alexander the Copper-Smith, that Vile and Peevish Apostate, turns to an outward Exercise of Religious Worship, as if G.F. would have had those Professors persecuted by the Civil Magistrate. O Base and Wicked Perversion of an Innocent Man's true Words!"

WILLIAM PENN AND JOHN
AUBREY

In the recent biography, *John Aubrey and his Friends*, by Anthony Powell (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948) appears the following passage. The information is based on the Bodleian Aubrey MSS. (13 f. 98, and 26, 9) and the quotation is taken from pages 192 and 193 of the book.

"There was a letter from William Penn, dated from Philadelphia 'the 13th of the 4th

month called June,' 1683, giving some description of the country, and saying: 'I have begun a vineyard by a French man of Languedock and another of Poictou'; and, in *Faber Fortunat* Aubrey noted: 'William Penn, the Lord Proprietor of Pennsylvania, did, *ex mero motu et ex gratia speciali*, give me a graunt under his seale, of six hundred acres in Pennsylvania, without my seeking or dreaming of it. He adviseth me to plant it with French protestants for seaven yeares gratis and afterwards they are to pay such a rent. Also he tells me, for 200 acres ten pounds rent for ever, after three yeares.'"

It would be interesting to know more of Aubrey's contacts with Penn and Pennsylvania.

ANTI-QUAKER TRACTS

Some rare Seventeenth Century Pamphlets, an article by A. J. Westlake, minister at Kingsbridge, Devon, in a recent issue of *The Baptist Quarterly* (vol. 13, no. 3, July 1949, pp. 109-115) brought to our notice a volume containing seven Commonwealth tracts and entitled *A Confession of the Faith* from the short title of the first item, recently presented by Miss E. K. Adams of Kingsbridge to Bristol Baptist College library (*shelf mark* JJ.a.9). Thanks to the courtesy of the librarian, the Rev. E. J. Tongue, we have examined the book and are able to give the following particulars concerning items of Quaker interest.

The sixth pamphlet in the volume is Thomas Collier's 16-page tract (small quarto, no printer's name or date) entitled: *An Answer to an Epistle, written*

by Thomas Salthouse, to the Churches of the Anabaptists, so called. Wherein his Epistle being weighed in the Ballance, is found too light. With a word to the Churches and another to the people caled Quakers. This controversial item treats of various themes, as baptism, perfection and ministry. James Nayler is mentioned. The "few words" to the Quakers open (p. 16) typically with: "This I say unto you by the word of the Lord, that you are deluded, that you are deceivers being deceived; you erre in the Faith; and instead of the Truth you follow cunning devized Fables." The *Short Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*, by Donald Wing has no record of this item, Joseph Smith had evidently never seen a copy, for his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana* (p. 132) gives only a short title; but the work is given in W. T. Whitley's *Baptist Bibliography* (I, 67) under date 1657, as an answer to Thomas Salthouse's *Epistle* (which latter is recorded in Smith's *Catalogue* II, 528).

A second work by Thomas Collier not recorded by Wing is the fourth item in the volume: *The Personal Appearing and Reign of Christs Kingdom upon the Earth, Stated and proved from the Scripture of Truth, and the state of the Saints till then, proved to be a state of suffering, and not of Reigning and Conquering with a Materiall Sword as some imagine* (London, 1657. pp. [viii], 32, small quarto). This work is of interest in that it illustrates development towards pacifism among the advanced sects in Protectorate England.

The final pamphlet in the volume is Thomas Higgenon's *A Testimony to the true Jesus*

And the Faith of him. Wherein the Way of the People called Quakers is in Aleekness and righteousness summed and weighed (London, 1656). This work includes an answer to James Nayler's *Love to the Lost* and is fully entered in *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana* (p. 231) and by Wing, *op. cit.*, H.1950.

THE TURKISH SPY

Isabel Ross, in her recent book on *Margaret Fell* (p. 110), quoted from *Journal F.H.S.*, viii, 25-27, the account of Quakerism and of James Nayler found in the *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*. Later in the same volume of the *Journal* are notes by William Charles Braithwaite and A. Neave Brayshaw on the nature and authorship of the letters. The author, G. P. Marana, was an Italian. He settled in Paris, and from 1684 published anonymously a series of letters (in Italian and in French in 1684, translated into English in 1687) dealing with events of the period of his supposed residence in Paris as a spy for the Ottoman Porte (1637-82). The work enjoyed great popularity, and it ran through many editions. Further volumes were added by other authors.

The letter referring to Quakerism illustrates the very limited knowledge which people on the continent had of the movement. In a French edition published at Cologne in 1717 with title *L'Espion dans les Cours des Princes chrétiens* this letter (tome 4, p. 313) is illustrated by a curious engraving entitled "Trembleurs ou Quackres." This shows a room with a woman in a broad-brimmed hat standing on an

upturned tub and exhorting a fashionably dressed couple in the foreground to repentance, while the background is occupied by a praying congregation. The sombre lines probably reflect faithfully the contemporary view of Quakerism.

JOHN BUNYAN

John Bunyan, l'homme et l'œuvre; par Henri A. Talon (Editions "Je Sers," Paris, 1948. Pp. xii, 400. 700 fr.) is a refreshing account of one of the outstanding men of the seventeenth century. Although one may doubt the profundity of the author's researches when so much English material has appeared, he gives a lively account of Bunyan's first controversial essay with Edward Burrough (pp. 109-15). M. Talon notes that in this pamphlet battle (in which quarter was neither asked nor given) Bunyan was developing a telling use of words, forging an instrument which served him well in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*. In considering the controversy concerning the Inner Light, the author ventures the suggestion that Quakerism was not fully Christian before Robert Barclay.

QUAKERISM AND AUTHORITY

A recent author speaking of Quakerism (Ralph Barton Perry: *Puritanism and Democracy*, New York, Vanguard Press, 1944, at pp. 98-99) makes an interesting observation: "the peculiar root of its offending was its complete rejection of the distinction between clergy and laity, and its acceptance of 'inner light' as an

authoritative source of inspiration and guidance. 'We utter Words,' said John Woolman, 'from an inward Knowledge that they arise from the heavenly Spring.'

"Quakerism tended to reduce priest to believer rather than, as with the Anabaptists, to exalt believer to priest, but it had the same tendency to render its adherents recalcitrant to any mode of organized control, whether through civil or through ecclesiastical institutions. The quietism of this sect and its later reputation for sobriety and liberality must not be allowed to obscure the fact that in the seventeenth century it was associated with factiousness, intolerance, and obscurantism. Passive resistance is nonetheless resistance, and because the Quaker's passivity made it difficult to convict him of overt crimes, it did not make him less obnoxious to authority."

A GOLD TEAPOT

In *The Life of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne* (London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1949), A. A. Luce recalls the following story connected with the Bishop's visit to Rhode Island (1729). The story came through Berkeley's daughter-in-law, Eliza, who remarking on the Islanders' rage for finery, and how the men wore "flaming scarlet coats and waistcoats, laced and fringed with the brightest glaring yellow," continues, "The sly Quakers, not venturing on these charming coats and waistcoats, yet loving finery, figured away with plate at their sideboard, or rather *beau-fait*." One sent to England for a large teapot of solid gold, and

had it made on purpose. Drinking tea one day with *friend* Berkeley, he asked him whether he had ever seen such a curious thing. Berkeley said that silver ones were much in use in England, but that he had never seen a gold one, and Ebenezer replied, "Aye, that was the thing. I was resolved to have something finer than anybody else. They say that the Queen has not got one." (Quoted from p. 120.)

THE TERM "QUAKER"

(*Supra.* 4-5) Mr. Geoffrey C. Scrimgeour, the Clerk of Cheshire County Council, writes with reference to the document on which our Query was based that

the reading given in the printed version is an error. The word should be "Coaker," meaning a harvest labourer. Had we but known at the time, this elucidation and explanation had already been printed as one of a number of interesting items in *Letter from the Past* No. 5, entitled *Quaker by Error*, which appeared in the *Friends Intelligencer* (Philadelphia), 24.v.1941, p. 330, which the author, Henry J. Cadbury, has kindly brought to our notice.

We would take this opportunity of bringing to the attention of those who do not know it this lively historical series which still continues in the *Friends Intelligencer* and has already passed its century.

Recent Publications

Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism. By Isabel Ross. London, Longmans, Green, 1949. Pp. xvi, 421, 4 plates. 21s.

For the historian of Quakerism this is the book of the year. By patient study and careful research, combined by a deep appreciation of her subject, by family piety and an extensive knowledge of Swarthmoor and its countryside, Isabel Ross has here presented a comprehensive survey of material connected with the woman who, from the time of George Fox's first coming to Swarthmoor in the late June days of 1652 until her death half a century later, did so much to support and refresh the leaders in the movement which became the Society of Friends.

In this valuable book Isabel Ross gives a picture of Margaret Fox's remarkable life with such wealth of detail from original letters and sources that one is sometimes in danger of losing sight of the main outline. But the volume is more than a biography, it is a broad survey of the development of Quakerism during the first twenty years of its corporate existence as the events touched the "Mother in Israel." If from that time forth the scope diminishes,